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ABSTRACT

This collection of abstracts is part of a continuing series providing information on recent doctoral dissertations. The 26 titles deal with the following topics: United States Presidential rhetoric; the public speaking of David O. McKay; rhetorical analyses of the crisis in Northern Ireland, of the Americanization of the Zionist movement from 1896 to 1918, and of Julia S. Tutwiler's speeches; enthymeme and metaphor in the rhetoric of the restoration movement in the United States, 1800 to 1830; a rhetorical study of legislative hearings; a rhetorical-humanistic analysis of the relationship between First Ladies and the way women find a place in society; the rhetorical strategies of Margaret Sanger, of Benjamin Elijah Mays, and of Meir Kahane and the Jewish Defense League; Richard M. Weaver's unpublished works; a rhetorical evaluation of the 1976 Democratic convention keynote addresses; the Reverend Ian R.K. Paisley and status quo discourse; the speeches of William L. Garrison; the rhetoric of the United States space program in the Eisenhower years; the public controversy over the Panama Canal treaties; a dramatistic examination of an organization's changing image; Cesar Chavez's nonverbal communication and nonviolence, and public opinion; the rhetorical vision of the "Christian Science Monitor," 1898 to 1910; a rhetorical study of Lew Sarett; a symbolic analysis of the print image of Henry Kissinger; and the rhetoric of radical feminism. (FL)

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Abstracts of the following dissertations are included in this collection:

Andrews, John Douglas
EISENHOWER AND MIDDLE EASTERN FOREIGN POLICY: A RHETORIC OF CONSENSUS

Armstrong, Richard Normand
AN IDEAS CENTERED APPROACH TO A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PUBLIC SPEAKING OF DAVID O. MCKAY: NINTH PRESIDENT OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

Balthrop, Virgil William
'BRITISH THUGS' - 'FENIAN BASTARDS': A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CRISIS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. (VOLUMES I AND II)

Bergeson, Ronald Scott
THE PLEA FOR CHRISTIAN UNITY: ENTHYMEME AND METAPHOR IN THE RHETORIC OF THE RESTORATION MOVEMENT, 1800-1830

Davis, Kristine Marie Dieker
ENVIRONMENT AND COMMUNICATION: A RHETORICAL STUDY OF LEGISLATIVE HEARINGS

Fishman, Donald Alan
A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT, 1896-1918

Fixler, Philip Eldridge, Jr.
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF MISREPRESENTATIVE AND DECEPTIVE LANGUAGE IN THE MAJOR PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS OF PRESIDENTS KENNEDY, JOHNSON, AND NIXON

Garvey, Barbara Oney
A RHETORICAL-HUMANISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FIRST LADIES AND THE WAY WOMEN FIND A PLACE IN SOCIETY

Gaulard, Joan Marie
WOMAN REBEL: THE RHETORICAL STRATEGIES OF MARGARET SANGER AND THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT, 1912 TO 1938

Gavins, Doris Levy
THE CEREMONIAL SPEAKING OF BENJAMIN ELIJAH MAYS: SPOKESMAN FOR SOCIAL CHANGE, 1954-1975

Goodman, Gary Scott
RHETORIC OF MEIR KAHANE OF THE JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE

Goodnight, Gerald Thomas
RHETORIC AND CULTURE: A CRITICAL EDITION OF RICHARD M. WEAVER'S UNPUBLISHED WORKS

Green, Earnestine
A RHETORICAL EVALUATION OF THE 1976 DEMOCRATIC KEYNOTE ADDRESSES

Hale, Carolyn Mae
THE REVEREND IAN R. K. PAISLEY: A CASE STUDY IN STATUS QUO DISCOURSE

Harrison, Daniel
MAJOR THEMES AND PERSUASIVE TACTICS IN SPEECHES OF WILLIAM L. GARRISON

Haushalter, Warren Bruce
A STUDY OF THE RHETORIC OF THE UNITED STATES SPACE PROGRAM CONFLICT DURING THE EISENHOWER YEARS, 1957-1961

Hollihan, Thomas Andrew
THE PUBLIC CONTROVERSY OVER THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES: A FANTASY THEME ANALYSIS OF FOREIGN POLICY DRAMAS

Holloway, Halbert Harold
A DRAMATISTIC EXAMINATION OF CHANGING IMAGE: THE AIR LINE PILOTS ASSOCIATION 1931-1938

Hribar, Paul Anthony
THE SOCIAL FASTS OF CESAR CHAVEZ: A CRITICAL STUDY OF NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION, NONVIOLENCE, AND PUBLIC OPINION

Kunkel, Robert Raymond
A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF JULIA STRUDWICK TUTWILER'S REFORM SPEECHES: 1880-1900

McDonald, Jean Angela
RHETORICAL MOVEMENTS BASED ON METAPHOR WITH A CASE STUDY OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND ITS RHETORICAL VISION 1898-1910

Rein, Lynn Miller
A RHETORICAL STUDY OF LEW SARETT

Roncelli, Janet Maria
A SYMBOLIC ANALYSIS OF HENRY KISSINGER'S PUBLIC IMAGE IN THE PRINT MEDIA, 1969-1976

Turner, Kathleen Jane
THE EFFECT OF PRESIDENTIAL-PRESS INTERACTION ON LYNDON B. JOHNSON'S VIETNAM WAR RHETORIC

Weiss, Tracey Bernstein
THE RHETORIC OF RADICAL FEMINISM: A PENTADIC ANALYSIS OF THE INCEPTION OF A RHETORICAL MOVEMENT

Workman, Randall Herman
LYNDON B. JOHNSON AND VIETNAM: THE RHETORICAL INFLUENCE OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER

EISENHOWER AND MIDDLE EASTERN FOREIGN POLICY: A RHETORIC OF CONSENSUS Order No. 7903221

ANDREWS, John Douglas, Ph.D. Northwestern University, 1978. 180pp.

This study is an analysis of presidential rhetoric and its effect on the maintenance of a foreign policy consensus. The rhetoric of Dwight D. Eisenhower was chosen because, for the most part, rhetorical scholarship has ignored the Eisenhower style. Foreign policy regarding the Middle East was selected because of its general continuity during the Eisenhower Administration.

The constraints on the Eisenhower rhetoric, including his background, his rhetorical training, his concept of leadership, and his attitude toward politics, are traced and developed for their impact on his rhetorical choices. The rhetorical nature of the United States Presidency is also examined.

The problems of the Middle East confronted by the Eisenhower Administration are portrayed through an historical analysis of the area and its conflicts. This analysis shows the reader that the problems facing Eisenhower were indeed rhetorical, that solutions to the Middle Eastern conflicts could not be manufactured overnight, and that Eisenhower would have to rely on words more than actions to convince the American people that their country's policy in the Middle East was viable.

The rhetoric employed by Eisenhower in dealing with the Middle East is examined along with the political climate including Congressional and public attitudes; these attitudes are examined for their effect on the Eisenhower rhetoric.

The Eisenhower rhetoric is subjected to a non-traditional, historical-rhetorical criticism and a more traditional Aristotelian analysis. Because of the nature of Presidential rhetoric and the difficulty in source attribution, the non-traditional analysis was applied to an effort to measure the success of presidential rhetoric rather than trying to assess its content. The traditional analysis was applied to see what conclusions could be drawn about stylistic consistency in Presidential rhetoric.

Eisenhower assumed four rhetorical postures in dealing with the Middle East: reduction, generalization, emotion, and action-justification. These four postures allowed him to restore confidence in a foreign policy that was under attack from the Democrats and greeted with suspicion by the people.

Eisenhower was able to maintain the consensus on foreign policy in the Middle East because of his own ethos with the electorate. Because the people wanted to believe him, he had the opportunity to minimize embarrassing situations while taking very positive actions.

Presidential rhetoric needs to be analyzed as the product and process of a group of people. Such a rhetorical perspective offers the scholar an opportunity to validate much of the theory relative to audience analysis and persuasion.

AN IDEAS CENTERED APPROACH TO A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PUBLIC SPEAKING OF DAVID O. MCKAY: NINTH PRESIDENT OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS Order No. 7901423

ARMSTRONG, Richard Normand, Ph.D. Bowling Green State University, 1978. 184pp.

The study of David O. McKay (1873–1970), educator and ninth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon), is an ideas centered approach to an analysis of his public speaking.

The study was precipitated by the unprecedented growth of the Mormon Church under McKay's leadership. During the nineteen years David O. McKay led the church, its membership nearly tripled to just under three million members. It was noted that McKay seemed to be more popular with non-Mormons than previous Mormon Prophets. Possible reasons for this popularity were sought in the ideas he chose to emphasize in his public speaking.

McKay had no published biography, but many books and periodicals have commented on his life and teachings. Interviews and correspondence initiated by the writer along with access to records of McKay's youth activities found in the Archives of The Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah were helpful primary sources.

The body of discourses analyzed for the study were those speeches known as General Conference Addresses. They were selected as most important and representative as the Prophet traditionally utilizes the twice yearly General Conferences of the church to dispense important new policies, programs, and doctrines or to re-emphasize existing facets of the church. There were one hundred and eight of these speeches delivered while McKay headed the Mormon Church (1951–1970).

The study revealed four major ideas or themes in David O. McKay's General Conference speaking: 1) The dual nature of man, Spiritual-Physical, 2) The importance of missionary work, 3) The importance of the home and 4) The centrality of Christ in the salvation of man. It appears that McKay's emphasis on these themes, along with a charismatic personality, combined to effect a much more positive representation of Mormonism to the world. That McKay was successful in this regard is at least partially attested to by a 1969 Gallup Poll which reported that the Mormon Prophet was considered among the top five religious leaders in the United States.

'BRITISH THUGS' — 'FENIAN BASTARDS': A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CRISIS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. (VOLUMES I AND II) Order No. 7910542

BALTHROP, Virgil William, Ph.D. University of Kansas, 1978. 447pp.

Events in Northern Ireland have demanded the world's attention since October, 1968 when a civil rights march in Londonderry exploded into violence. This study contends that events in Northern Ireland can best be understood through a filter of social movement theory and rhetorical criticism. The crisis in Northern Ireland is characterized as a dialectical confrontation between two distinct social and cultural groupings: the Loyalist-Protestant and the Republican-Catholic. Ideology is singled out as being a particularly appropriate method of investigating and understanding this conflict; and, responding to the plea of several scholars, symbolic analysis is advocated as providing a unique interpretation of ideology. Symbolic analysis recognizes the importance of ideology, not merely as an antecedent or consequent of events, but as an active force in social change. The rhetorical criticism of both Loyalist and Republican ideology and its rhetorical expression provides an explanation of the justifications relied upon by each culture for beliefs held and actions taken.

The analysis and evaluation of these competing ideologies is performed through an application of Kenneth Burke's concept of "dramatism" and the corresponding development of the "representative anecdote." Chapter One explores the essential characteristics of dialectic and dramatism and their applicability to social movement criticism in general and to events in Northern Ireland in particular. Additionally, this chapter discusses the essential features of the representative anecdote and the agency for selection of anecdotes representative of the two cultures.

Chapter Two provides an introduction to the cultural heritage of the two communities. Cultural grounding is essential for ideological analysis since the ideology must contain the culture's "polarizing image" if it is to remain consistent with the culture's basic values. This chapter contends that the Republican tradition arises from a culture combining fierce Gaelic nationalism, attachment to the land and to the Roman Catholic Church. The Loyalist perspective arises from a culture permeated by a form of nationalism combining elements of British imperialism with the mentality of a colonizing population in a hostile environment. Crucially, however, one must understand the fierce devotion of Loyalists to the principles of the Reformation and to the belief that Protestantism is "religious and civil freedom."

Chapters Three and Four contain the analysis, utilizing both intrinsic and extrinsic material, of the anecdotes selected as representative of the Loyalist and Republican positions. Sean O'Riain's "Oration at Redhills", delivered during the

Easter season of 1974, emerges as the Republican anecdote; while the Reverend Ian Paisley's "A Call to the Protestants of Ulster", delivered to his congregation in the early months of 1975, represents the Loyalist perspective.

Rhetorical criticism demands evaluation of acts; and Chapter Five considers the consequences of the ideological positions concluding that no dialectical transcendence of dramatistic transformation is likely in Northern Ireland. Both cultures' ideologies are characteristic of those associated with regressive movements, those which find their salvation in adherence to an idealized view of the past and both exert what Richard Weaver described as a "tyrannizing" force over the cultural elements and individuals within them. The result is that the rhetoric expressing Loyalist and Republican ideology functions to perpetuate cultural forms which bear little relation to the surrounding scenic conditions and which deny the humanity of those caught within those cultures. It is this inability to move toward dialectic transcendence which traps Northern Ireland as a prisoner of its own history and, consequently, of its own rhetoric.

THE PLEA FOR CHRISTIAN UNITY: ENTHYMEME AND METAPHOR IN THE RHETORIC OF THE RESTORATION MOVEMENT, 1800–1830 Order No. 7912557

BERGESON, Ronald Scott, Ph.D. University of Oregon, 1978. 336pp. Adviser: Dominic A. LaRusso

Arising and gaining sizable acceptance in the early years of the nineteenth-century, the Restoration movement represented a religious program indigenous to the American frontier. The primary spokesmen of the early movement were Barton Stone, Thomas Campbell, and Alexander Campbell. Together they formulated a religious program seeking the restoration of New Testament Christianity, the union of all believers, and, ultimately, the conversion of the world.

The principal objective of the study is recreative and interpretive. It attempts to search out the full meaning of the Christian union rhetoric of the Restoration movement, seeking to discover patterns of attitudes of the spokesmen, and of the audience as perceived by the spokesmen, as they are reflected in the message itself.

Methodology is both historical and critical. The analytical tools are fundamentally two, the rhetorical modes of enthymeme and metaphor. The study examines both explicit and implicit attitudes through the interpretation of repeatedly and consistently selected enthymemes and metaphors. It proceeds upon the assumption that an interpretive analysis of clusters or patterns of enthymemes and metaphors within discourse may be posited as evidence of existing attitudes.

The analysis of the enthymematic and metaphorical patterns of the Restoration rhetoric revealed both a rhetoric of defense and a rhetoric of attack. The former supported revealed religion, and the latter opposed ecclesiasticism. Stone and the Campbells gathered philosophical support for their program from both the Scottish common sense philosophy of Thomas Reid and Dugald Stewart, and from the natural rights philosophy of John Locke. They found theological support for their plea in the rigid biblicism of mainline, as well as sect line, Protestant principles.

Several presumptions formed the foundation of the stated and implied attitudes of the movement. Often these presumptions were without sufficient substantiation. Many of the rhetorical themes of the movement were, however, well adapted to the general ideology of the frontier, themes similar to those addressed in both social and political arenas. As the appeal of Stone and the Campbells reflected attitudes consistent with themes of freedom, individualism, simplicity, and others, the religious community of the frontier began to view the Restoration movement as a viable option in which to place its allegiance.

The comprehensive rhetorical strategy of the movement embraced a triad of restoration, union, and conversion as sequential objectives. The simplicity of this strategy led eventually to the failure of the proposed program. The absence of a clear, concrete, and practical plan was its major weakness.

Both Stone and the Campbells recognized that the success of their program required rhetorical effectiveness. They viewed the rhetoric of the written message as most crucial to the promotion of their objectives. Through their respective periodicals and publications the rationale and apology for Christian union was scattered to religious audiences throughout the western frontier. Their audience was wide and diverse and required complicated rhetorical analysis and adaptation. Eventually, the movement found itself unable to successfully adapt its program to the complexities of American religion. Nonetheless, the enthymemes and metaphors chosen by Stone and the Campbells in the early decades of the movement revealed attitudes, and provided data to better understand the strategy and the appeals, as well as the ideological substructure, of the Restoration plea for Christian union.

ENVIRONMENT AND COMMUNICATION: A RHETORICAL STUDY OF LEGISLATIVE HEARINGS Order No. 7912840

DAVIS, Kristine Marie Dieker, Ph.D. The University of Iowa, 1978. 273pp. Supervisor: Associate Professor Bruce E. Gronbeck

This dissertation attempted to explore environmental shaping of discourse and, in so doing, to provide a basic description of communication in legislative hearings. Characterizations of the working environments of the House Ways and Means Committee, the Senate Finance Committee, and the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee on Health were developed, based upon knowledge of the committees' rules, norms, member goals, and sources of external pressure. Transcripts of forty-eight sessions of the 1971 hearings on national health insurance were examined by means of a formal content analysis. Seven attributes of members' utterances were investigated: type, thrust, valence, time focus, problem/solution orientation, audience, and topic. Results were reviewed both for similarities among committees and for differences which might be explained, at least in part, by environmental variations between them.

Legislative hearings were shown to differ from appropriations and investigative hearings in terms of their lesser focus on past events, infrequent references to members' home states or districts, and lower proportions of directed questions. On the whole, legislative hearing communication was characterized by a high number of assertions, an emphasis on clarification and elaboration, a slightly negative tone on substantive matters, a relatively balanced attention to problems and solutions, a preoccupation with the present, a low degree of attention to external audiences, specific questioning, and little colloquy. These findings suggested that members tried to maintain the initiative during questioning periods, that hearings were not argumentative, and that information-gathering in hearings may be a verifying rather than a discovery function. The predominant function of the hearings for the committees as a whole appeared to be record building; members seemed primarily concerned with constructing a sourcebook for use in discussions to come.

Exploration of differences between committees revealed that environmental factors may have some, if minor, explanatory power in accounting for disparities in member commentary. While not all working hypotheses were confirmed, several relationships were found: (1) Seniority, apprenticeship, and specialization norms may help explain variations in member participation. (2) Specialization also may be associated with type and thrust of utterances. (3) Nonpartisanship norms may guide opinion and attitude expression. (4) Member goals may be related to the temporal and problem/solution orientations of remarks. And, (5) goals and external pressures may assist in explaining apparent audience variations. Patterns observed across committees, as well as variations found between them, indicated that the types of witnesses appearing at sessions may be related to variations in the nature of member remarks. Location also appeared as a guide to the character of hearing discourse. Field sessions were more controlled than Washington sessions; specific questions predominated, simple response units were frequent, and procedural remarks were high. Discussion focused on past and

present problems and was less negative in tone than was Washington discourse. A comparatively large portion of field remarks were addressed to the audience in attendance at the sessions.

Contingency coefficients, however, indicated that the relationships between specific attributes of discourse and specific environmental factors were not strong. Of the various environmental elements studied, location showed the strongest relationships to variations in member commentary. Thus, it appeared that while many communication differences existed between and within committees, the value of environmental factors as explanations to account for differences was low. A review of the major characteristics of each committee's discourse suggested that congressmen may have held general expectations about formality, privacy, and attitude expression which were more directly related to member commentary than were other committee norms or structures. Whether these expectations are, in fact, communication norms or rules is a question for future research.

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT, 1896–1918 Order No. 7903258

FISHMAN, Donald Alan, Ph.D. Northwestern University, 1978. 291pp.

The purpose of this study has been to provide a rhetorical analysis of the Americanization of the Zionist movement between 1896–1918. Periodization of the study proceeded from the assumption that the era from 1896 to 1918 represents a time of considerable change for American Zionism, encompassing a high-point of controversy within the Jewish community regarding the acceptance and rejection of the movement. In this study, Americanization has been defined in two respects: changes from the original European values and appeals of the movement and the ability to attract a large number of followers in the United States.

The study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One provides an introduction to the subject and outlines the purposes and procedures of the work. Chapter Two examines the origins of Zionism in Europe and the development of the European vision of the movement. Chapter Three directs attention to the formative years of American Zionism prior to 1914. Topics discussed include the attachment of the Federation of American Zionists to America and Palestine, the course of action the movement pursued, and the internal problems of Zionism. Chapter Four describes the anti-Zionist campaign to purge the movement. The nativist elements of the campaign were examined, and attacks on Zionism as a foreign "ism" were discussed. Chapter Five analyzes the reformulation of the Zionist vision in accord with values and premises drawn from "Americanism." Individual rhetors discussed were Horace Kallen, Stephen Wise, Julian Mack, and Louis Brandeis. Chapter Six views two factors central to obtaining a broader audience for Zionism between 1914–1918. Chapter Seven presents a summary of the work. The findings previously interspersed in the text were summarized in terms of five propositions about rhetorical movements.

The methodology used in this study was inductive criticism. Adapting an approach suggested by Golden and Reike, the study assumed that Zionism was a movement and attempted to explain the rhetorical components of the movement related to Americanization. The generalizations presented at the end of the study stress two points. First, they focus on a movement which arose in one scene but was transplanted to another. Second, they emphasize the notion of identifying a vision in examining the rhetorical components of a movement.

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF MISREPRESENTATIVE AND DECEPTIVE LANGUAGE IN THE MAJOR PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS OF PRESIDENTS KENNEDY, JOHNSON, AND NIXON

FIXLER, Philip Eldridge, Jr., Ph.D. University of Southern California, 1979. Chairman: Professor Neal E. Cutler

The increasing interest in political communication has been paralleled by a concern with the use of misrepresentative or deceptive language by political elites including the President of the United States. This study elucidates the phenomenon of misrepresentative or deceptive language in politics by identifying the social and political conditions to which it might be related.

A review of the literature suggests that psychological, institutional, and societal conditions or factors (e.g., certain types of events) may be important in explaining misrepresentative or deceptive language in politics. This type of language is manifested in several stylistic forms including figures of speech such as metaphors, euphemisms, and coinages. The effects of misrepresentative or deceptive language on the social system may include creation of a "credibility gap," distortion of political perceptions, reinforcement of entrenched class and group interests, and encouragement of authoritarian tendencies.

Several plausible independent variables are considered as being related to such language. Operational definitions yield indicators for each independent variable as follows–public charges of political corruption: charges of political corruption against the presidential administration in power as contained in the New York Times Index; economic slump: rate of unemployment; direct involvement in war: war fatalities; presidential campaign influence: length of time before a presidential election; and foreign policy/diplomatic crises or conflicts: international conflictual events involving the United States. The central hypotheses of this study suggest that these five independent variables are each conducive to misrepresentative or deceptive language, the dependent variable.

Content analysis was selected as the methodology most suited for empirical examination of these hypotheses. The universe consisted of major presidential communications selected from the Public Papers of the Presidents, 1961–1974. Three expert judges (graduate students in Speech Communication or English) first identified selected figures of speech and thereafter, in a separate stage, analyzed an objectively screened portion of the figures for congruency or incongruency with the facts of the situation to which the figures referred (operational definition of "misrepresentative or deceptive language").

Instances of misrepresentative or deceptive language were totaled within monthly, bimonthly, and quarterly time periods to develop a periodic indicator for the dependent variable. Individual occurrences of the indicators for independent variables were similarly totaled to create periodic indicators, with the exception of the "economic slump" variable, already expressed as a periodic statistic.

Statistical analyses were conducted utilizing periodic indicators in a cross-sectional and time series analysis. Only two of the independent variables, "public charges of political corruption" and "presidential campaign influence," were found to be related to the dependent variable at statistically significant levels. Using the Tau b statistic to measure the strength of these relationships, it was determined that a modest correlation exists for each of the two independent variables with the dependent variable. Furthermore, an analysis using a partial correlation test demonstrated that each of these two variables had an independent impact on the dependent variable.

The central empirical finding was the significant association of each of the two independent variables, "public charges of political corruption" and "presidential campaign influence" with the dependent variable, "misrepresentative or deceptive language." Thus, the presence or absence of either of the independent variables exerts a significant influence in determining the appearance of the dependent variable. The majority of instances of misrepresentative or deceptive language were found to be clustered in two specific event periods: the 1964 presidential campaign and the Watergate Scandal. In terms of the explanatory framework, it appears that such events are conducive to misrepresentative or deceptive language and may trigger psychological, institutional, and societal factors which further encourage the use of such language in politics.

A RHETORICAL-HUMANISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FIRST LADIES AND THE WAY WOMEN FIND A PLACE IN SOCIETY Order No. 7908146

GARVEY, Barbara Oney, Ph.D. The Ohio State University, 1978. 271pp. Adviser: Professor John J. Makay

In her popular song, "I Am Woman," Helen Reddy wrote that women were redefining their place in society. However, if we look at all the different statements women are making concerning their image of womanhood, we become confused about what it means to be a woman in 1978. Supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment argue that the amendment is the best of the "American Way," but the opponents of the ERA argue that the passage of the amendment will be the downfall of American society. Not only have women like Phyllis Schafley and Marabel Morgan formed women's groups to counteract the National Organization of Women (NOW), but the women within NOW disagree about how radical the movement should be. Perhaps nothing is more indicative of the lack of agreement among women about their place in society than the 1977 Women's Year Conference. Sociologists, political scientists, and women's leaders noted that the conference accomplished far less than had been hoped because women failed to agree on what their problems were, let alone what the solutions were.

The one thing that women seem to agree upon is the admiration they feel for First Ladies, past and present. Each year our First Ladies rank in the top ten positions in polls concerning who women most admire. The initial question for the dissertation study was what relationship exists between the image a First Lady has of herself as a woman and the image an American woman holds of her place in society. In the first stage of the study, the rhetorical stage, I analyzed the written material about the First Ladies from Mamie Eisenhower to Rosalynn Carter--autobiographies, biographies, magazines, and newspapers. In the second stage of the study, the humanistic stage, I used a repertory grid and focused interview technique on 50 women of all ages, education levels, social backgrounds, and economic status to determine how the women defined their place in society by the way they talked about being a woman. In the final stage of the study I considered the recent more realistic portrayal of First Ladies and its impact on today's woman's search for a definition of womanhood. Although the study offers some interesting observations about First Ladies, the main concern of the study is understanding the confusion most women feel about their definition of womanhood.

As the result of the study, I found that there was a gradual change in the kind of vision of womanhood the First Ladies presented to American women. Although the vision of devoted mother and political wife permeated throughout the media discussions of all the First Ladies, Mamie Eisenhower's total dependence upon her husband was very different from Rosalynn Carter's acknowledged partnership with her husband. The results from the Repertory Grids and Focused Interviews suggested that even though American women are beginning to consider participating in society in less traditional ways, their emphasis also is upon behavioral concerns (strength, helpfulness, honesty, manners, not intellectual or philosophical concerns). However, future generations of women and future First Ladies may soon be redefining their images. College women, the youngest group of women interviewed, are less bound to traditional expectations of marriage and motherhood than were their mothers and grandmothers. Also, with the recent recognition of the troubled lives of the past First Ladies, as well as the acknowledged accomplishments of the more active First Ladies, the position of First Lady may, in the future, be defined outside of the private sphere of wife and mother. Perhaps the truly activist First Lady can serve as a more realistic model for the American women than can the image of the First Lady as a devinely happy wife and an all-knowing mother.

WOMAN REBEL: THE RHETORICAL STRATEGIES OF MARGARET SANGER AND THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT, 1912 TO 1938

GAULARD, Joan Marie, Ph.D. Indiana University, 1978. Chairman: Dr. Robert G. Gunderson

From 1912 to 1938, American birth control pioneer Margaret Sanger conducted a graduated course of action to arouse concern over the plight of women who risked criminal abortion because they were denied contraceptives. Her plan resulted in the first successful promotion of birth control; earlier attempts to accomplish social and legal change had failed to bring the issue to public attention or gain public support. Sanger, however, argued from a feminist perspective previously absent from the appeals of reformers. She spoke for the woman; her predecessors advocated birth control because of its beneficial effects on society, the economy, the environment, or the child. She gained recognition through agitation, an illegal clinic, arrest, noncompliant behavior during arrest, trial, and imprisonment. Woman Rebel dramatized her cause and educated an ignorant public. Conscious of obstacles, Sanger adroitly shifted strategies in accord with changing social mores, audience demands, and opposition attacks. To avoid alienating her audience, she presented herself as a martyr--a mother separated from her children by unjust laws--thus generating support rather than rejection. Having created an audience, she focused on education, providing contraceptive advise through books, pamphlets, speeches, and legally operated clinics. Sanger believed that an educated public could further advance the movement; so she concentrated on bringing supporters together. Her organizational efforts prompted the establishment of numerous state leagues that provided birth control services and later acted as pressure groups for legislative change. She founded the first American clinic, the first birth control league, the first lobbying effort to promote birth control, and the first citizen's committee to urge Congress to vote appropriations to those government agencies that included birth control in their programs. Her National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control attacked the federal Comstock Laws, 1873 statutes which classified contraceptives as obscene thereby barring such products or information from the mail. Her efforts resulted in social and legal change: an increase in use of birth control and a favorable ruling in the "One Package" case. By 1936, physicians could dispense birth control for a patient's health. Within twenty-five years, Sanger's status had changed from public enemy to public figure. As a speaker and activist, she often disregarded socially prescribed behaviors and autocratically administered the movement. As the sole leader of the cause, Sanger removed birth control from charges of obscenity. Although the campaign was difficult, Sanger discounted her early sacrifices for the cause because she considered it "a privilege to be a part of something unquestionably proved of value, something so fundamentally right."

THE CEREMONIAL SPEAKING OF BENJAMIN ELIJAH MAYS: SPOKESMAN FOR SOCIAL CHANGE, 1954-1975 Order No. 7911569

GAVINS, Doris Levy, Ph.D. The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1978. 240pp. Supervisor: Professor Waldo W. Braden

Benjamin Elijah Mays (1894-), President of Morehouse College from 1940 to 1967, active civil rights advocate, and member of the Atlanta School Board since 1969, helped in focusing attention on the need for implementing social change in the structure of American society. Initially Mays spoke from the church pulpit but as his popularity as a public speaker increased in the Fifties and Sixties, he spoke at many colleges and universities to advance his plea for social change. Hence, this study reports, describes and evaluates the ceremonial speaking of Mays from 1954 to 1975. It focuses specifically upon six commencement addresses and three eulogies.

Serving as a background for the analysis of Mays speaking, chapters include information about his early family life, his education, his speech training, and his professional career. The rhetorical analysis of the nine selected speeches takes into account the speaker, his speech, his audience, and the occasion. Finally, an appraisal is made of the man and his effectiveness as a ceremonial speaker.

Mays was always eager to give an address so that he could dramatize the plight of the needy and subsequently set into motion his pleas for social change. In his speeches he attempted to discuss the major social problems in the United States. Mays pled for peace among nations, aid for the impoverished, harmony between races, and justice for the oppressed. In the same way Mays was responsive in accepting speaking engagements, his early speech training disciplined him to be equally as earnest in the preparation and delivery of his speeches. His ministerial training prepared him to speak to diverse listeners. Mays preferred a formal speech structure to assure clarity of ideas; and he appealed mainly to self-esteem, ethnocentrism, and fair play to achieve his goals. These appeals to the conscience resulted in a speaking popularity desired by many black speakers.

Mays was effective in speaking to audiences on sensitive social issues at a time when discussion created bitter opposition. In short, Mays was popular because of his ability to identify with his cause and because of his experience and authority in dealing truthfully and unselfishly with the prevailing social issues of the day.

RHETORIC OF MEIR KAHANE OF THE JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE

GOODMAN, Gary Scott, Ph.D. University of Southern California, 1978. Chairperson: Professor James H. McBath

The central purpose of this study was to evaluate the persuasion of Meir Kahane, leader of the Jewish Defense League, and in so doing, to explicate the language and strategies of ethnic discourse. The study inquired into the rhetorical situation to which Kahane and the League responded; his background and training; distinctive persuasive and ethnic aspects of his rhetoric; and, finally, the effects of Kahane's discourse upon immediate audiences and the larger American Jewish community.

Kahane and the League emerged in an atmosphere of poverty and fear in the racially transitional neighborhoods of New York City, in 1968. At first, focusing upon local problems, the League organized armed street patrols to discourage attacks upon elderly Jewish residents. A campaign on behalf of Soviet Jews was begun in 1969, which included bombings of Soviet agencies. In late 1971, Kahane moved to Israel, signalling an end to the most violent activities of the group.

Kahane was ordained a rabbi at Mirrer Yeshiva in New York City. After unsuccessful ventures in law, political consulting, and leading a congregation, Kahane worked as a journalist for the Jewish Press. Deeply impressed with the plight of elderly Jews, he decided to start an agency for their defense.

Kahane's world-view was synthesized from writings and speeches regarding American Jews, the nature of man, American society, and the nature of God. Kahane believes that Jews live inauthentically in America by adopting the values of the gentile. He would supplant assimilated values with what he considers more Jewish ones. Man is weak, anti-Semitic, and the cause of the many crises which plague American society. The Jew will only be safe in Israel, which is his destination as called for by God.

Five conclusions were drawn regarding the impact of Kahane upon American Jews. (1) Kahane contributed to a continuing climate of American Jewish activism. (2) Jews have changed their attitudes regarding violence. (3) Kahane publicized the plight of Soviet Jews. (4) Kahane failed to dramatically increase religious observance or emigration to Israel. (5) Kahane's message strategy is dysfunctional and defeats his purposes.

Insofar as Kahane's main purpose has been to alter Jewish identity and values, his discourse illuminates a fundamental formalistic and stylistic aspect of ethnic discourse. His contradictory message strategy symbolizes the basic anomaly of ethnicity: being simultaneously of mixed substances and allegiances. This characteristic is apparent in Kahane's frequent use of fear and humor. Fear reminds the ethnic that he is only marginally accepted by the dominant culture. Humor makes this fact tolerable. Thus rhetorical contradiction typifies the communication pattern of the ethnic, while it functions for him homeostatically in the negotiation of dual identities.

RHETORIC AND CULTURE: A CRITICAL EDITION OF RICHARD M. WEAVER'S UNPUBLISHED WORKS

Order No. 7910557

GOODNIGHT, Gerald Thomas, Ph.D. University of Kansas, 1978. 811pp.

Richard M. Weaver's popular success as a leader of the conservative cause and his profound influence with important areas of twentieth century rhetoric are two factors which when studied in conjunction, reveal profound insights into the development of American culture. It is the purpose of the present study, by referring to works Weaver was near completing toward the end of his career, to give a detailed account of Weaver's writings as an historian, critic, teacher and advocate of conservative political philosophy.

The primary sources of this study is a body of manuscripts, speeches and lectures by Richard M. Weaver which may be located in a collection at Vanderbilt University, but attention has been paid to the broad corpus of critical essays, book reviews, and longer works available in published form. Chapter I, introductory in nature, discusses the procedure for editing the works and the general format of the study. Chapter II constructs an interpretative format for presenting Weaver's unpublished works in relation to his broader concerns with culture. Chapter III presents essays on American and British culture; Chapter IV, speeches on behalf of the Conservative cause; Chapter V, lectures and miscellaneous papers. Chapter VI summarizes Weaver's position as rhetorician and teacher.

Thus, this study aims to make available Weaver's works and thoughts as they neared completion toward the end of his career.

A RHETORICAL EVALUATION OF THE 1976 DEMOCRATIC KEYNOTE ADDRESSES

Order No. 7902135

GREEN, Earnestine, Ph.D. The Ohio State University, 1978. 154pp. Adviser: Professor Goodwin F. Berquist

This study was designed to evaluate the 1976 Democratic keynote addresses to determine if they were effective, which was more effective, and to account for the difference. To facilitate the process, the writer also examined addresses from 1960–1972 to determine their role. Those findings, along with the assessment of the 1976 addresses, were compared to the function of pre-1960 keynote addresses, as pinpointed by other writers.

Barbara Jordan and John Glenn were the keynoters in 1976. To conceptualize the many circumstances to which their rhetoric responded, Lloyd Bitzer's approach was used. Bitzer suggested that because rhetoric occurs in situations where solutions are wanted and where the exigences of the situation can be modified or changed by discourse, the critic should seek out and examine exigences for change. Consequently, the writer viewed the speakers and the audience as humanly responsive entities in the situation and observed that the situation as a whole had brought into force opportunities and limitations within which and through which Jordan and Glenn had to work in order to be effective. Secondly, because keynote speeches belong to that class of oratory known as epideictic, the speeches were measured against a values criteria.

Seven objectives served as the framework for the study. The writer sought to determine the following:

> To what degree do contemporary keynote addresses (1960 and after) conform to the traditional role of keynote addresses?

What strategies have contemporary keynotes utilized in effecting the role of keynote addresses?

What qualities and qualifications have contemporary keynoters possessed?

What factors influenced the selection of Glenn and Jordan as keynoters for the 1976 Democratic convention?

What was the rhetorical situation to which Glenn and Jordan responded?

To what degree were Glenn and Jordan successful in fulfilling the objectives of a contemporary keynote address?

Why did Jordan's message appear to have more impact than Glenn's address?

THE REVEREND IAN R. K. PAISLEY: A CASE STUDY IN STATUS QUO DISCOURSE Order No. 7824597

HALE, Carolyn Mae, Ph.D. The University of Oklahoma, 1978. 268pp. Major Professor: Paul A. Barefield

This study was concerned with the nature, function, scope, and role of revolutionary discourse in social change. To accomplish this purpose the study focussed on a single national situation and a central character within that context, and analyzed Irish revolutionary discourse in its historical and political context, concentrating on the pivotal role of Reverend Ian Paisley's work. Specifically, the study investigated Reverend Ian Paisley's "revolutionary" discourse as it impacted upon social change in Northern Ireland from 1966–1976. One initial qualification is crucial, however; as the research progressed it became increasingly evident that Reverend Paisley, although working in a revolutionary context and using revolutionary tactics, was not revolutionary per se. Quite the contrary, his work was found to represent a highly volatile and successful form of status quo discourse. From the perspective of his vehement status quo defense, however, there developed a unique and productive perspective for studying the interaction of the diverse conflicting groups in Northern Ireland.

This purpose was operationalized in the three central questions and theses of the study: (1) How can one best characterize the diverse competitive forces struggling to determine the future of Northern Ireland? (2) How does Ian Paisley fit into this context? (3) What are the sources of Ian Paisley's effectiveness? Two general thesis were demonstrated: (1) A thematic analysis of Ian Paisley's rhetoric clearly depicted the positions of the diverse forces in contemporary Northern Ireland. (2) An analysis of the rhetorical strategies and tactics used by Ian Paisley demonstrated the interactive patterns of the diverse forces in contemporary Northern Ireland.

MAJOR THEMES AND PERSUASIVE TACTICS IN SPEECHES OF WILLIAM L. GARRISON Order No. 7905271

HARRISON, Daniel, Ph.D. State University of New York at Buffalo, 1978. 114pp.

A survey in Dissertation Abstracts of the more recent doctoral dissertations in rhetoric corroborates that a new approach or new methodology was needed to adequately study movements. The survey of the literature revealed Herbert Wichelns revelation as pertaining to this concept was as early as 1946. Because of the growing concern among rhetoricians, Charles A. Wilkinson seeks to provide a rhetorical definition for movements so would give strength to such approach. More particularly, this study is to investigate the rhetoric of William L. Garrison as a component of the Abolition Movement. This study is analytical in purpose and descriptive rather than predictive.

This work seeks to analyze rhetorical timing in an obvious social movement. Specific characteristics of the rhetoric of William L. Garrison will be isolated as to achieving the goal of this work.

It is believed that rhetorical timing crosses social, historical and psychological factors which generate rhetorical response at a given time.

This work also examines Garrison rhetoric according to the criteria developed by Bruce Gronbeck which helps to identify and classify movements such as abolition. According to Gronbeck, "two kinds of rules for timing, inate rules and social rules". In a given situation, he explains, messages may be either ill-timed or well-timed.

In addition to evaluating Gronbeck's "two rules of timing", this thesis evaluates the rhetoric of Garrison according to the four forces suggested by Gronbeck:

1. Cultural Patterns
2. Unexpectedness
3. The Setting's Effect
4. Concept of Formation

The methodology of the study sees rhetorical timing as representing the temporal intersection of the following four constituents as suggested by Gronbeck, they are:

1. Audience Expectations
2. Rhetor
3. Message
4. Strategies

A STUDY OF THE RHETORIC OF THE UNITED STATES SPACE PROGRAM CONFLICT DURING THE EISENHOWER YEARS, 1957–1961 Order No. 7907882

HAUSHALTER, Warren Bruce, Ph.D. Northwestern University, 1978. 375pp. Chairman: David Harris

The purpose of this study was to determine through rhetorical analysis the nature of the United States space program conflict during the Eisenhower years of 1957 to 1961. Special attention was given to the competing arguments and rhetorical strategies developed and utilized by those individuals and groups advocating President Eisenhower's long haul approach to United States space exploration and those individuals and groups advocating a more urgent, vigorous and spectacular approach to national space exploration. The study identifies and evaluates the rhetorical choices made by the proponents of the two diametrically opposed approaches as these proponents argued for acceptance of their respective positions.

One of the key emphases in the analysis was upon the preemptive choices made by President Eisenhower as he employed the gatekeeping and agenda-setting functions of the Presidency to encourage acceptance of his national space program approach. The analysis also demonstrates the manner in which President Eisenhower, his administration and his space program supporters gained commitment for his approach and the reasons for his insistence on that approach. The analysis evaluates the degree to which the Eisenhower program advocates were successful and offers reasons for their success. The study also evaluates the degree of success of the vigorous space program advocates and the reasons for their relative lack of success in gaining commitment to their approach. Substantial discussion focuses on the rhetorical choices made by these Eisenhower space program opponents.

The analysis begins by providing evaluation of the rhetorical situation as it existed just after the October 4, 1957 launching of the first Russian sputnik and the early rhetorical choices made by President Eisenhower. The beginning portion of the study also identifies the early rhetorical choices made by the Eisenhower approach opposition. The analysis focuses on the changing rhetorical situation between 1957 and 1961 as it proceeds to discuss the responses made by the Eisenhower space program advocates and the vigorous space program advocates. In part the analysis centers on the changes in emphasis which evolved in the United States space program conflict as a result of increased participation and public speaking by a broad range of politicians, scientists, industrialists, private citizens and competing agencies, councils and committees.

It was found that President Eisenhower was highly effective in using the gatekeeping and agenda-setting functions of the Presidency to promote his long haul approach to United States space program development and to gain support for that ap-

proach. President Eisenhower achieved his success by effectively using executive branch prerogatives by creating new agencies, councils, and committees to support his approach and also by diminishing the effectiveness of the vigorous space program advocates by impeding and preventing the development of cohesive organizational structures which could have been used by the opposition to promote their viewpoints and approach. Suggestions are provided which in retrospect could have improved the opposition's chances of success. The election year 1960 is analyzed from the perspective of the impact of the space program conflict on the presidential election campaign and the impact of the election campaign on the space program conflict.

Finally, the analysis focuses on the transitional period after the 1960 election during which President Eisenhower and his approach advocates continued to use the office of the Presidency to develop and implement space policy supportive of his long haul approach. This period also was characterized by early evidence that the Kennedy administration would establish a new course in national space policy which would have as its core aggressive and vigorous space exploration advocacy.

THE PUBLIC CONTROVERSY OVER THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES: A FANTASY THEME ANALYSIS OF FOREIGN POLICY DRAMAS Order No. 7907543

HOLLIHAN, Thomas Andrew, Ph.D. The University of Nebraska – Lincoln, 1978. 301pp. Adviser: James F. Klumpp

The purpose of this study was to criticize public rhetoric surrounding the ratification of the Panama Canal treaties. The study examined public rhetoric dating from May 1976 through April 1978. The study: (1) identifies the three rhetorical visions generating public dramas with respect to the canal treaties; (2) examines the elements of these visions' responses to the canal controversy; and (3) examines reasons for the success of the power politics rhetorical vision.

The Panama Canal controversy is considered a watershed issue capable of shaping public attitudes on a variety of foreign policy issues. The study begins by analyzing the Cold War rhetorical vision which engaged the vast majority of Americans until the public rejection of the Vietnam War. Next the development of the competing power politics and new world order visions which set the scene for the public discussion of the canal treaties is explained.

The Cold War drama, which seemed to be fading in light of public rejection of the Vietnam War, was again an influential public force. This vision depicted Panama as a scene in an ongoing conspiratorial drama and cast the Panamanian leaders as dupes or conspirators. Returning the canal to the Panamanians was condemned as an act of appeasement which would further their conspiratorial demands. Cold War dramatists depicted the canal as an important symbol of American power and achievement and believed that the canal was in fact American property. Surrendering American property would merely increase the conspiratorial demands for more concessions.

The new world order rhetorical vision emphasized that people were basically good and essentially alike. The source of conflict in the world was the tendency of governments to disregard the will of the people and engage in immoral confrontations. War was condemned, and new world order visionaries emphasized that it was avoidable if nations acted morally. Panama was depicted as a scene in which the United States had acted immorally from the very beginning. The 1903 treaty had been unfairly negotiated and therefore must be retracted by the passage of new agreements which would return the canal to Panama. These visionaries dramatized that the United States had never possessed a legitimate claim to the canal and that attempting to cling to the existing immoral relationship would provoke a bloody confrontation.

The power politics rhetorical vision dramatized a world of competing nation states all seeking to satisfy their own selfish objectives. Conflict was endemic to such a world and avoidable only by skilled professional negotiators who met in secrecy attempting to mediate differences and form agreements among nations. The canal confrontation, according to the power politics drama, was a scene where conflict could be avoided by reaching agreements mutually satisfying to both the United States and Panama. The United States must win assurances of continued access and the Panamanians must secure control of the canal. The form of the agreement was secondary to the substance. The potential gains to the United States from ratifying new treaties outweighed the risks and mandated American action. Ratification of new treaties was dramatized as likely to improve the United States' relationships throughout the world. Failure to ratify might lead to the destruction of the waterway by sabotage and worsened foreign relations.

An examination of the three visions operating in the canal controversy reveals the power politics vision to have successfully motivated the public to accept the new treaties. The study accounts for the appeal of the power politics dramatization of the new treaties and predicts which rhetorical vision(s) might shape future foreign policy rhetoric.

A DRAMATISTIC EXAMINATION OF CHANGING IMAGE: THE AIR LINE PILOTS ASSOCIATION 1931–1938 Order No. 7908921

HOLLOWAY, Halbert Harold, Ph.D. Wayne State University, 1978. 833pp. Adviser: James Measell

The Air Line Pilots Association was founded in 1931 due to discontent caused by changes in commercial aviator wage scales. Between 1932 and 1938, ALPA leaders conducted three public speaking campaigns during which they defended pilots' economic interests and strove to improve safety in commercial aviation. A result of their campaigns was the legalization of a wage formula, elements of which determine airline pilot pay to this day. The purpose of this dissertation was to examine the public speaking of the Air Line Pilots Association as it pertained to the changing image of the airline pilot.

Generalizations concerning the ALPA campaigns were derived from the application and testing of a method of criticism based upon theories of Kenneth Boulding and Kenneth Burke. Boulding argued that our subjective knowledge or image is formed by message systems. Congruent with this claim is Burke's contention that our interpretation of existence is one with our symbolicity. Intrinsic to Burke's semantical and rhetorical theory is his argument that identification with messages within language as symbolic action is a cause of persuasion. In this study, a salient image was traced through examination of message systems. It was shown that identification with arguments based upon that image were persuasive. Since speakers consistently based arguments upon an identifiable image over a period of time, the sum of such appeals comprised campaigns. Concepts of Leland Griffin were combined with those of Leonard Binder to isolate the campaign nature of ALPA speaking. It was argued that ALPA campaign speaking contained the elements of a movement.

The base for rhetorical criticism in this study was the recognition and description of the airline pilot image as developed in Chapter II. Chapter III, "The Founding of the Air Line Pilots Association and the First Campaign Before Congress," discussed the forming of the ALPA as influenced by the self image of airline pilots and traced expression of that image in a series of speeches before Congressional audiences. The image expressed was congruent with that described in Chapter II. ALPA speakers modified image arguments to address four different specific purposes in three different speaking situations in the House and Senate. The result was a campaign of public speaking consisting of an underlying rhetorical structure in a seemingly unstructured communication context. The structure consisted of arguments expressing and modifying an image salient in the speaking environment.

The first campaign was caused by a labor dispute with the Century Air Lines. The second was caused by discontent concerning changes in the pilots' pay scale by five major airlines. This is discussed in Chapter IV, "The Campaign for Decision 83 of the National Labor Board." Through examination of speaking in six hearings, it was concluded that a public speaking strategy based upon a salient image can be successfully conducted throughout a campaign which is a process of development and change toward a predetermined end.

The third campaign was discussed in Chapter V, "The Campaign for Protective Legislation." The ALPA succeeded in the legalization of the Decision 83 pay scale through reference first in the Air Mail Act of 1934 and later in the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938. To achieve these goals, ALPA speakers emphasized appropriate aspects of pilot image at different times. Chapter V offered final proof that Burkeian identification with arguments based upon a salient image is a cause of persuasion.

Chapter VI summarized findings about ALPA speaking and offered suggestions for rhetorical criticism of imagic campaigns.

THE SOCIAL FASTS OF CESAR CHAVEZ: A CRITICAL STUDY OF NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION, NONVIOLENCE, AND PUBLIC OPINION

HRIBAR, Paul Anthony, Ph.D. University of Southern California, 1978. Chairman: Professor McBath

The general purpose of the study was to describe and evaluate Cesar Chavez's social fasts as types of nonverbal communication often used for the expression of nonviolence in the formation of public opinion. This overall purpose was divided into two constituent questions: (1) What was the nonverbal-communicative nature and probable influence of Chavez's social fasts on relevant public opinion? (2) What were apparent relationships between Chavez's fasts and his advocacy of nonviolence as a principle of social action?

The study provides a comprehensive survey of social fasts and hunger strikes as a context for analyzing Cesar Chavez's fasts. Viewing social fasting as a form of nonverbal communication, the study evaluates fasting as a means of expressing the social philosophy of nonviolence in order to influence public opinion.

Methodological procedures and techniques included a review of the literature from 1800 to the present, collection of research data from various printed sources, an interview with Cesar Chavez, and a critical analysis of the data. The interview with Chavez employed an open-ended interrogation.

The study revealed a lack of systematic research into social fasting, although it has been a significant means of influencing public opinion from about 1900 to the present. The practice is both an expression of Cesar Chavez's philosophy of nonviolence and a principal means of his social influence. The most widely known contemporary practitioner of the fast as an instrument of persuasion, Chavez's career illuminates the social, psychological, and philosophical aspects of fasting.

Fasting as a technique of persuasion tends to be employed when social issues, movements, or individual situations have become desperate for those involved. It is an extreme, culminating action used when other efforts at persuasion are frustrated. Fasting is particularly effective when undertaken by a grass-roots leader who has a dedicated and substantial following. This effectiveness is further enhanced if the leader and his issues have potential or actual public support. Fasting for social and personal reasons is especially important for leaders who advocate the philosophy of nonviolence. The most outstanding and successful practitioners of fasting have adhered rigorously to the philosophy of nonviolence as a principle of social change.

Two types of social fasts were identified. In the one type, fasters themselves become the primary target, attempting to persuade others indirectly through a kind of purgative suffering. In the other, fasters try to persuade others to courses of action through direct forcible demands. As a nonverbal communication process, fasting is more efficient in communicating specific emotional messages than in transmitting abstract meanings to audiences. Nevertheless, while audiences are slower to understand abstract meanings underlying a fast, they correspondingly tend to more firmly accept or reject the meaning of the message.

Prolonged fasting produces unique effects on a faster's mental and physical condition. Contrary to what might be expected, prolonged fasting does not ordinarily produce senses of apathy, depression, or hopelessness. Although the general physical state of a faster deteriorates during such events, the individual usually experiences a heightened acuity of the senses. During lengthy fasts, fasters have claimed to gain a sharpened ability for decision making and greater self-esteem.

Finally, this study revealed the importance of social fasts or hunger strikes in influencing public opinion throughout the world. Because this work appears to have been the first attempt to investigate this phenomena, more research is needed to describe and evaluate these past and future events.

(Copies available from Micrographics Department, Doheny Library, USC, Los Angeles, CA 90007.)

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF JULIA STRUDWICK TUTWILER'S REFORM SPEECHES: 1880–1900

Order No. 7903141

KUNKEL, Robert Raymond, Ph.D. The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1978. 207pp. Supervisor: Dr. Waldo W. Braden

Julia Strudwick Tutwiler (1841–1916) affected the disposition of social issues, particularly in Alabama, during the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Public speaking was one of the resources she employed to influence change in education for women and the treatment of prisoners. This study analyzes fifteen speeches presented between 1880 and 1900 and assesses her effectiveness as a public speaker.

Primary source materials for this study are the Julia Tutwiler Papers housed at the University of Alabama Library, the Journal of Proceedings and Addresses for both the Alabama and National Education Associations (1880–1910), the Proceedings of the Annual Conventions of the Alabama Woman's Christian Temperance Union (1882–1900), the Bicentennial Reports of the Alabama Board of Prison Inspectors (1880–1910), and a series of interviews with Tutwiler's relatives and former students.

Tutwiler was probably limited in her effectiveness as a speaker because of her loose organization, mixed speech purposes, unstructured arguments, minimal logical proofs, and the repeated use of the same illustrations and examples. In spite of these apparent limitations her effectiveness supports Aristotle's conclusion that "ethos is the most potent of all the means of persuasion." Her education, her selflessness, and her devout Christianity contributed to her excellent reputation. Her forthrightness, fearlessness, and ability to establish her good character, good will, and intelligence lessened the shock of a woman appearing on the public platform and enhanced her posture as a speaker.

Her persistence brought most of her ideas to fruition. As a result of her efforts, the doors of the University of Alabama were opened to women, technical education for women became a reality with the establishment of the Alabama Girls' Industrial School, prison night schools were initiated, effective inspection of prisons was begun, reformatories were constructed for youths of both races, and a separate institution was provided for women prisoners.

Tutwiler emerges as a significant social reformer due, in part, to her speaking.

RHETORICAL MOVEMENTS BASED ON METAPHOR WITH A CASE STUDY OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND ITS RHETORICAL VISION 1898–1910 Order No. 7906354

MCDONALD, Jean Angela, Ph.D. University of Minnesota, 1978. 628pp.

Contemporary rhetorical theorists have pushed the definition of metaphor far beyond the Aristotelian notion of it as stylistic ornament. From the literature on the topic this dissertation abstracts twelve "rules" for the rhetorical behavior of metaphor and then investigates the question: When a movement is based on metaphor (as, for instance, the New Deal, the War on Poverty, the Social Gospel, Christian Science, the Salvation Army), does the rhetoric used to promote it or to resist it follow these rules? If it does, then rhetorical critics could have a basis for predicting the course of the rhetoric of movements based on metaphor.

The Christian Science movement was taken as a case study for answering the question, and the rhetoric of an early stage in its development, 1898–1910, was examined. The rhetoric of established opposing groups was analyzed, and the interacting developments among competing rhetorics traced. Thus the study had the twofold task of recording the rhetorical development of a movement in interaction with its environment and of appraising the rhetorical activities from the perspective of metaphor.

The theoretical model used for rhetorical criticism was that of dramatic, or fantasy theme, analysis, a method that pulls from the rhetorics those message bits that have departed from reasoned analysis to dramatize certain themes in such a way as to provide unmistakable heroes, villains, and recurring scenarios. It is these dramatic themes that expose the fundamental concerns, motives, and strategies of a group and, taken collectively, they reveal the group's "rhetorical vision," that position the group sees itself occupying in the drama of existence. It is the competition for audiences among these "dramas" that often determines the outcome of a movement's efforts.

The study revealed that the Christian Science movement was dramatizing, celebrating, promoting, and attracting its converts through aspects of the two metaphorical sides, a rhetorical vision of the lawful, rather than supernatural, behavior of Christian spirituality, as well as its all-encompassing redemptive effect. In this activity the rules for successful metaphor were operating rhetorically to forward the movement as well as to hinder it.

Noting this, concerned opponents worked to split the metaphor, to separate the conjunction, re-associating each side with less attracting alternatives. For instance they dramatized the "Christian" aspect of the metaphor as actually faulty philosophical idealism, faith cure, or occultism, or the "science" aspect as actually positive thinking (which was indeed taught by Mind Cure, a movement regularly confused with, and in opposition to, Christian Science), imagination, or suggestion, thus a ludicrous and/or dangerous fraud. In either case they were able to dismiss it as beneath serious attention by also dramatizing it as merely a woman's movement, hence characterized by the absurd illogicalities, the unintellectual futilities, and the immoralities, attributed at that period to women, who were too "stupid" and--by reason of their ovaries--too "sick" to pursue "masculine" activities. Rules for the reception of new metaphor were therefore operating rhetorically among opponents also. As the rules would predict, most misunderstood the selective nature of metaphor, its essentially inseparable and interactive meaning, the both positive and negative rhetorical effects of novelty, and the like. They therefore resisted the new group with greater commitment than if it had not been supported with the rhetorical power of metaphor.

A final conclusion that movements based on metaphor do tend to follow "rules" for metaphor-behavior was supported by instances of a similar pattern observed in the rhetoric surrounding other metaphor-based movements.

A RHETORICAL STUDY OF LEW SARETT

Order No. 7903348

REIN, Lynn Miller, Ph.D. Northwestern University, 1978. 264pp.

Lew Sarett is remembered primarily as an influential presence in the field of speech, although during his lifetime he enjoyed significant recognition as a regional poet and an effective performer, as well. The aim of this study is to examine the rhetorical strategies which Sarett used, consciously or unconsciously, to define himself as a public personage, and with what ultimate effect.

Chapter I provides biographical information about Sarett; chapter II focuses on Sarett's development as a poet and his subsequent abandonment of that pursuit. His relationship with Poetry, editor Harriet Monroe was critical to this period of Sarett's life, for it was she who acknowledged him as a serious artist. Yet, although he was one of a small cadre of pseudo-ethnic poets who were popular during the 20s, his early poetic promise dwindled until Sarett stopped writing poetry in the early 30s.

Chapter III follows Sarett's speaking career, beginning with the early Chautauqua days. Sarett's feelings of inferiority surfaced in idiosyncratic behavior as documented in this chapter. A highly effective and dynamic performer, much of Sarett's success as a speaker lay in his delivery, rather than in his material.

Chapter IV looks at Sarett's role in academe. After his early years on the faculty at the University of Illinois, Sarett spent more than thirty years with the School of Speech at Northwestern University. He is remembered by many students and colleagues as a stimulating presence; yet, he left Northwestern disappointed with the students' response to him, as he failed to adapt to inevitable changes in American culture.

Chapter V examines significant written discourse from a critical period spanning the 20s. One of Sarett's favorite poems, "Four Little Foxes," seems to speak of his early alienation from society. "The Box of God" can be read as a metaphoric expression of Sarett's feelings of conflict about rejecting his Jewish heritage. "Let Me Flower As I Will" evidences Sarett's ambivalent feelings about the two styles of life he might follow. His 12 October 1929 letter to Ralph Dennis reveals the numerous roles Sarett appeared to assume, in order to conform to different situations. "Night Letter" and relevant correspondence document Sarett's life crisis, the outcome of which influenced the disposition of his future. Looking at this discourse affords the reader a special perspective from which to grasp some of the stresses and conflicts that worked on Sarett during this critical period.

Chapter VI points out how Sarett may be viewed essentially as a representative figure of popular culture, reflecting American society during the first half of this century. This study argues that Lew Sarett, a figure who clung to nineteenth century values well into the twentieth century, failed to adapt to his constantly changing milieu.

A SYMBOLIC ANALYSIS OF HENRY KISSINGER'S PUBLIC IMAGE IN THE PRINT MEDIA, 1969–1976

Order No. 79[illegible]954

RONCELLI, Janet Maria, Ph.D. Wayne State University, 1978. 269pp. Adviser: Bernard L. Brock

This study investigates Kissinger from the rhetorical perspective of the public image. During his eight-year tenure as an American statesman (1969–1976), Kissinger acquired worldwide notoriety under such guises as "Super K," "Mideast cyclone," "Secretary of the World," and "Gulliver." While these images served to characterize Kissinger in various situations, they also functioned to characterize the reality by which the world at large judged him. Each image represented a turning point in his career; in fact, Kissinger's entire career was earmarked by a vacillating public image. Thus, the study answers the question, "What was the significance of Kissinger's public image evolution?" Two aspects of this question are explored: "How did Kissinger's image evolve?" and "What were the effects of this image evolution on his role as public official?"

The first half of the analysis details how Kissinger's image evolved during the most representative period of his public image evolution, 1973–1975. It is this total time period which depicts not only the most extreme image fluctuations, but also the characteristics necessary to understand his entire image evolution and its effects on his role as public official. The image theories of Boulding and Boorstin are employed. The Burkeian pentad is used as a framework for gathering and interpreting the written transcript of Kissinger's public image. This transcript is limited to four selected periodicals--Time, Newsweek, U.S. News & World Report, and The New Republic. The method of selection and interpretation for reviewing the journal articles concerning Kissinger is a non-frequency content analysis.

The latter portion of the analysis discusses the second aspect of the major question posed--the effects of this evolution on Kissinger's entire career as public official. Following a synthesis of image transitions over the years, Klapp's theory of symbolic leadership is applied. It provides a focus for studying the symbolic interaction of Kissinger's public image with his public role.

Three significant and unique insights into one of the most celebrated and controversial men of our times are offered. First, the criticism demonstrates that Kissinger was a victim of circumstances; that is, he played a leading but restricted role in eight years of foreign policy tinged by domestic upheaval. His public image was a source of power and illusion over which he had little control. Second, Kissinger's rhetoric was governed by his public image; it was a shadow of reality, but it was the image rather than himself that Kissinger consciously perfected. Third, Kissinger was a symbolic leader. His public image evolution exemplifies how society finds and serves needs by choosing people who best symbolize what others want or want to do. His power transcended the bureaucratic structure because his image, at various times, represented a public vehicle of identification (hero) and a public vehicle of aggression (scapegoat).

General conclusions derived from the critic's methods regarding the public image are also relevant. It is the public image that governs man's behavior and provides a focus for leadership. Most important is the contention that in our media-centered reality the public image is molded by many variables, two of which are the individual's rhetoric and the media.

THE EFFECT OF PRESIDENTIAL–PRESS INTERACTIONS ON LYNDON B. JOHNSON'S VIETNAM WAR RHETORIC
Order No. 7905784

TURNER, Kathleen Jane, Ph.D. Purdue University, 1978. 380pp. Major Professor: David M. Berg

By the time Lyndon Johnson succeeded to the Presidency in 1963, the United States had been involved in the affairs of Southeast Asia for more than a decade. Not until Johnson's Administration, however, did the full force of public opposition to the war develop. As it did, the President found himself compelled to address the issue of American involvement in Vietnam with increasing frequency. It was not, however, until eight months into his Presidency, with his nationally televised address on the Gulf of Tonkin incident on August 4, 1964, that Johnson delivered his first major public statement to the American people dealing exclusively with the situation in Vietnam. Yet during the remaining four and one-half years he was in office, the President publicly addressed the problem of Vietnam in press conferences, remarks, and televised speeches on more than two hundred occasions.

However impressive the quantity of Johnson's Vietnam war rhetoric, its overall success or lack of success was, of necessity, heavily dependent upon the media of mass communication. Public officials, except in direct communication situations, have long been at the mercy of those who report the news to convey their message to the people. Even when a statement is available in full, as in a television broadcast, much of the public relies on media reports of the message for both its content and its meaning. As Douglass Cater has observed, "reporters, not the President, ultimately decide which of the President's utterances are headlined to the nation, which given lesser treatment, and which pretty well ignored." In the face of these media powers, public officials "may be willing," Dunn argues, "to alter the content of their messages to make sure that the messages will appear. They may be willing to alter them even more in order to have them appear with prominent display."

Lyndon Johnson, not oblivious to the degree to which the success of his Vietnam war rhetoric was dependent upon media treatment, called upon a variety of strategies in his interactions with the press. In spite of these efforts, however, his relationships with representatives of the various media were often troubled. As the Vietnam conflict ground on, the President's problems were even further exacerbated as the national press gravitated from an initial position of essential disinterest concerning Vietnam to one which was in large measure actively hostile to presidential policy. It was this hostility which, at least in part, ultimately led Lyndon Johnson to decide in 1968 not to seek a second full term of office.

This study, then, examined the interaction between President Lyndon Johnson and the nation's press for the purpose of determining how that interaction affected, and was affected by, the President's efforts to communicate with the public concerning the war in Vietnam. Drawing heavily upon the holdings of the Lyndon B. Johnson Library in Austin, Texas, the investigation revealed evidence of Johnson's persistent concern with media coverage, his dismay with dissent on the war, and his adaptation of statements on Vietnam to his perceptions of attitudes held by members of the media.

THE RHETORIC OF RADICAL FEMINISM: A PENTADIC ANALYSIS OF THE INCEPTION OF A RHETORICAL MOVEMENT
Order No. 7910094

WEISS, Tracey Bernstein, Ph.D. Temple University, 1978. 262pp.

This dissertation identified the central rhetorical framework, symbols, and strategies advocated by radical feminists in their manifestoes from 1967 through 1969. Kenneth Burke's theory of dramatism functioned as the critical method. While previous approaches to the discourse of radical feminists have viewed it as a "mass rhetoric" designed to reformulate national policies, a major conclusion of this study is that the discourse of radical feminists is most logically understood as an "intracultural communication system" designed to unify women.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON AND VIETNAM: THE RHETORICAL INFLUENCE OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER Order No. 7900431

WORKMAN, Randall Herman, Ph.D. Indiana University, 1978. 175pp.

During President Lyndon B. Johnson's tenure in office, United States involvement in Vietnam increased from approximately 16,000 troops to 529,000 troops. This study, using John R. P. French, Jr's. formal theory of social power, explains how, as the escalation increased, the public's perception of President Johnson as one who had legitimate authority to lead the nation into war became less and less favorable. In 1964, Johnson attempted to sustain the legitimacy, inherent in the office of President, as the executor of United States foreign policy, by arguing that the Eisenhower letter of October, 1954, the SEATO Treaty, and the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution each represented evidence of his legitimate authority to conduct the war. These documents were also used as rhetorical proof that a communist victory in South Vietnam represented a threat to U. S. national security. Based on this reasoning, Johnson escalated the war from 1965 through 1967; but as he did so his support diminished. Johnson's failure to sustain support for his Vietnam policy was, in part, a result of erosion in the legitimate power that inheres in the office of President. Rather than reversing the erosion of legitimate power, his public communication only exacerbated it. Finally, he reconciled his rhetorical behavior with his need for legitimacy by de-escalating the war and withdrawing from the 1968 presidential race.

Six implications emerge from this study. The first three are substantive ones, derived directly from the historical account of Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam. The last three are more theoretical ones, derived from the presumption in this analysis that rhetorical choices were made, and that other options were open to Johnson.

First, had Johnson's legitimate authority not been questioned, his war rhetoric would have been much different. A review of Woodrow Wilson's and Franklin Roosevelt's wartime speeches indicates that the speeches of a President with legitimate authority to lead the country into war pertain more to raising morale and praising the troops than did Johnson's speeches. Wilson and Roosevelt did not continually attempt to justify U. S. involvement in those wars, as did Johnson, nor did they have to prove that United States national security was threatened. Second, had Johnson's legitimate authority not been questioned, much of the war protesting and turmoil of the late sixties would not have occurred. Third, this study implies a relationship between the power base and the most appropriate type of argument. For example, had Johnson been able to maintain his legitimate authority, he would not have had to appeal to fear and guilt.

Fourth, this study implies a relationship between the arguments made in attempting to maintain a legitimate power base and the moral character of the persuader. It is reasonable for us to be concerned with the morality of arguments as well as with the morality of the men who make them. Fifth, this study implies that moral choices have to be made by those who are charged with securing the public good and typically that choice appears to be between candor and deceit. It is reasonable to suggest that studies might be made that focus upon the morality reflected in "lies for the public good." Finally, we are reminded once again that in this democratic society one cannot govern as President without the consent of the governed, and obtaining that consent ultimately depends upon one's ability to persuade the people by means of rhetorical discourse.

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